STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

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MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM S. ROSECRANS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE STAFF OF THE ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND: A CASE STUDY

BY

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ABSTRACT

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This SRP will discuss the transformation and creation of the staff of the Army of the Cumberland under the tenure of Major General William S. Rosecrans. The study will suggest that the staff transformation under MG Rosecrans created one of the first truly modern staffs. This SRP will serve as a case study, illustrating how one commander used his vision of the future to overcome obstacles present in his theater of operations. Additionally, the study will show that after the removal of William S. Rosecrans as Commander of the Army of the Cumberland, the staff infrastructure he envisioned later enabled Sherman to successfully conduct his famous Atlanta Campaign and the subsequent March to the Sea.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT iii

MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM S. ROSECRANS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE STAFF OF THE ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND 1

THE ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND 2

THE DEPARTMENT HEADQUARTERS 4

THE CHIEF OF STAFF 5

GENERAL STAFF 6

AIDES DE CAMP 6

ASSISTANT ADJUTANT GENERAL 7

ASSISTANT INSPECTOR GENERAL 7

CHAPLAIN 7

STAFF DEPARTMENTS 8

QUARTERMASTER 8

COMMISSARY OF SUBSISTENCE 9

MUSTERING AND DISBURSING OFFICER 10

ORDNANCE 10

PROVOST MARSHAL 11

CHIEF PAYMASTER 12

JUDGE ADVOCATE 13

MEDICAL DIRECTOR 13

SPECIAL STAFF 14

CHIEF OF ARTILLERY 14

CHIEF OF ENGINEERS 14

CHIEF TOPOGRAPHICAL ENGINEER 15

CHIEF OF SIGNAL 16

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE TELEGRAPH 16

CHIEF OF ARMY POLICE AND MAIL DIRECTORY 17

SUPERINTENDENT OF RAILROAD 17

CONCLUSION **18**

ENDNOTES **21**

BIBLIOGRAPHY **25**

MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM S. ROSECRANS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE STAFF OF THE ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND

American Civil War armies were not known for particularly effective staffs. In most cases, in both the Federal and Confederate forces, commanders frequently performed nearly every function that we would associate with a modern staff system single-handedly. The one exception to the commander as a one man staff usually fell into the areas embraced by logistics. Federal commanders usually had a fairly robust staff, by nineteenth century standards, of quartermasters, ordnance officers, medical specialists and personnel managers to relieve him of the day to day burden of sustaining his force in the field.

Absent from this staff were critical members found on staffs of the twenty-first century. Civil War commanders had no intelligence officer to predict enemy action or process information gathered from prisoners of war. His staff lacked an operations officer to formulate plans and coordinate action within the army, and many functional areas that we would consider essential today were missing from traditional staff structure during this period.

When Major General William Starke Rosecrans took command of the Army of the Cumberland, he realized that his army faced unique challenges. The theater of operations of the Federal Army assigned to the Eastern Theater, the Army of the Potomac, was confined to an area of roughly 100 miles spanning the distance between Washington, D.C. and Richmond, Virginia. The Western Theater, in which the Army of the Cumberland operated, comprised a vast area including Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia; which included the Ohio, Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers with the Mississippi River as its western boundary. The theater contained the Cumberland, Sand and Lookout Mountain ranges which any army moving north to south would have to cross. Finally, the theater was sparsely populated. Unlike his eastern counterparts, Rosecrans would have to carry any supplies that his army needed. With Louisville, Kentucky as the primary base of operation and one rail line running south to his forward logistical base at Nashville, managing operations could quickly become problematic.

After consideration of these unique theater problems, Rosecrans quickly realized that management of both the army and the larger department would require a much more robust staff than the norm.

At this point, it is useful to explain that Rosecrans held two distinct positions in the Western Theater. First, he was commander of the larger Department of the Cumberland. The department was geographic in nature, generally consisting of every Federal soldier assigned to the Western Theater. It incorporated large numbers of non-combat soldiers, which included recruiters, convalescing soldiers, soldiers on leave, clerical staff, and soldiers not yet mustered

for duty with regiments. Rosecrans normally reported the strength of the Department of the Cumberland as approximately 275,000 soldiers. This strength figure included the Army of the Cumberland. The second and more important of Rosecrans' duties was as Commander of the Army of the Cumberland. This was the Western Theater's combat force. This organizations strength varied greatly, but was usually about 54,000 soldiers.

Not one to procrastinate, Rosecrans quickly set about appointing staff officers to assist him in managing the department and overcoming the problems presented to him by the complex nature of this theater of war.

Although Rosecrans would expand his staff far beyond the nineteenth century norm, staff positions in his army were still not as tightly standardized as they are today. Rosecrans' staff model consisted of his chief of staff, various aides-de-camp, adjutants general, inspectors general, commissary, quartermaster, and an assortment of other special staff officers.[1] The scope of their operations was truly diverse. At its peak, Rosecrans' staff managed and coordinated support for over forty separate brigade-sized organizations from bases located in Louisville and Nashville and finally to Chattanooga.

This paper will serve as a case study for change. It will detail the most refined staff in the Federal Army during the Civil War period. It will focus on the changes made by one man - - Major General William S. Rosecrans and especially upon the army staff during his tenure as commander. The paper will show that Rosecrans' efforts to transform his staff ultimately built a staff infrastructure that would long outlive him as commander. This would be the same staff that would later sustain the Western Army during Sherman's Campaigns and subsequent March to the Sea. Rosecrans' vision of a staff would become a critical element of victory in the Western Theater of Operations.

THE ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND

Before delving into the staff structure of the Army of the Cumberland, it is useful to review the organization of the Army of the Cumberland so that a complete understanding of this army and its missions are understood.

During the American Civil War there were ten principal armies of the United States operating against the Confederate forces. The Army of the Cumberland was one of these armies. Its area of operation encompassed what we now call the Western Theater of the Civil War. According to Frederick H. Dyer, the Army of the Cumberland:

> First started by a small body of Kentucky Volunteers, organized at Camp Joe Holt, near Louisville, Kentucky, by Colonel, afterwards Major General Lovell H. Rousseau, in the Spring and early Summer of 1861. The State of Kentucky lying

> within 100 miles of the Ohio River was constituted the Department of Kentucky May 28, 1861, but was merged into the Department of the Cumberland August 15, 1861, which Department consisted of the States of Kentucky and Tennessee. This Department was again changed to the Department of the Ohio, November 9, 1861, embracing the States of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, all of Kentucky lying east of the Cumberland River, and the State of Tennessee. The Department was merged into Halleck's Department of the Mississippi, March 11, 1862, but the Army retained its original title and organization as the Army of the Ohio until October 24, 1862, when the Department of the Cumberland was again recreated to consist of Tennessee, east of the Tennessee River, and such parts of Alabama and Georgia as may be taken possession by the United States Troops. The title was hereafter changed to the Army of the Cumberland.[2]

On January 9, 1863, following the Battle of Stone's River, William S. Rosecrans reorganized the Army of the Cumberland into three infantry corps, a cavalry corps and a small infantry reserve corps. The three infantry corps would be named the Fourteenth, under George H. Thomas, the Twentieth, under Alexander McDowell McCook, and the Twenty-first under Thomas L. Crittenden.[3] The reserve corps and the cavalry, under the command of Gordon Granger and David S. Stanley respectively, did not have numerical designations. During the Stone's River Campaign, the army had been organized into wings. This reorganization established the wings as corps without a change of commanders.[4]

The army was composed of regiments from twelve States: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Michigan, Wisconsin, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Minnesota, Iowa, and Kansas. There were also five regiments and four batteries of U.S. Regular Troops. Three quarters of the 252 separate organizations in the army came from four States: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky. The remaining quarter of the troops fell into regiments in the remaining nine.

This Midwestern composition gave the Army of the Cumberland a unique flavor. "Men of Scandinavian blood joined the colors with enthusiasm in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Illinois . . . in which they had recently settled."[5] In fact, some regiments, such as the 15th Wisconsin, were completely Scandinavian. Their beloved commander Colonel Hans Heg was killed in action at Chickamauga. Germans also made up a significant percentage of the Army of the Cumberland. The 9th Ohio Regiment was one of the sixteen predominately German regiments that Ohio sent to the war.[6] Germanic soldiers were also the majority of the 74th Ohio Regiment.[7] Of course, as in any of the Federal armies, the Irishman was everywhere. This was to be expected since over two million Irishmen immigrated to the United States in the thirty years that had preceded the war. Most of the men who served with these "newest" Americans grew to know and respect them. However, the Irish seemed to bear the brunt of prejudice. Rank or position did not shield

the Irishman from anti-Irish remarks. Nineteenth century stereotypes painted the Irish as stupid and drunken, with a special affection for the ladies. John Beatty noted that, "Lieutenant Colonel Dukat, an Irishman of the Charles O'Malley school, insisted upon introducing me to the ladies, but fortunately I was sober enough to decline the invitation."[8] The Army of the Cumberland had the majority of the "purely" Irish units that fought in the west, most notably, the 10th Ohio (Hibernian Guards), Ohio's only fully Irish regiment and the 35th Indiana, one of two Irish regiments raised in that state.[9]

Another difference between the Army of the Cumberland and its eastern counterpart, the Army of the Potomac, was the spirit of the individual soldier. The western soldier tended to be more of an individualist than the eastern soldier. In the words of an easterner, "[the eastern] armies are composed of citizens, the West of pioneers."[10] This spirit of individualism gave western soldiers the reputation of being undisciplined to most easterners. Major Alonzo Merrill Keeler made the following observation after his transfer from the Army of the Potomac. "The Regiment has been in service just a year but does not know ABC about the military . . . The army plunders horribly."[11] Western soldiers may have lacked discipline, but they made up for it in fighting spirit. Sherman best summed up the fighting spirit of the western soldier when he spoke of the battle of Shiloh: "We fought, and held our ground, and therefore counted ourselves victorious. From that time forward we had prestige." It was this prestige that made the Army of the Cumberland eager to fight Braxton Bragg's Army of Tennessee anywhere and anytime.

THE DEPARTMENT HEADQUARTERS

Major General William Starke Rosecrans was the Department Commander and Commander of the Army of the Cumberland. Rosecrans was born on September 6, 1819 in Delaware County, Ohio. He was a graduate of the West Point class of 1842. Here, he gained the respect of his classmates and a reputation as the "brilliant Rosy Rosecrans."[12] At West Point, Rosecrans became a devout Roman Catholic. His religious beliefs would have a strong influence on the remainder of his life. Following graduation, he spent the first ten years of his career in engineer positions resulting in a missed opportunity to participate in the Mexican War.[13] Declining health coupled with frustration with garrison duty caused him to resign from the Army in 1854. Rosecrans then pursed a career as a chemical engineer and was injured in an accident that left him with the appearance of a perpetual smug grin. At the outbreak of the war, he served as an aide on General George B. McClellan's staff and eventually commanded a brigade under him. McClellan thought that Rosecrans was often not aggressive enough and noted that he was, "a silly fussy goose."[14] Following the successful campaign in Western

Virginia, he was transferred to the Western Theater. After a string of well fought, but indecisive battles, he took command of the Army of the Cumberland on October 27, 1862.[15]

The normal Civil War army had two principal categories of staff members; the general staff and the staff departments. The general staff included aide de camps, adjutants, inspector generals and other "household" staff members. Today, we would call these the commander's personal staff. The staff departments subsumed the functional staff areas including quartermaster, ordnance, medical, etc. and performed a similar function to our modern coordinating staff.

H.L Scott's Military Dictionary, the standard reference for Army officers during the mid-nineteenth century, defined the staff as follows:

> The staff of an army may be properly distinguished under three heads:
>
> 1. The General Staff, consisting of adjutants-general and assistant-adjutants-general; aides-de-camp; inspectors-general and assistant-inspectors-general. The functions of these officers consist not merely in distributing the orders of commanding generals, but also in regulating camps, directing the march of columns, and furnishing to the commanding general all necessary details for the exercise of his authority. Their duties embrace the whole range of the service of the troops, and they are hence properly styled general staff-officers.
>
> 2. Staff Corps, or staff departments. These are special corps or departments, whose duties are confined to distinct branches of the service. The engineer corps and topographical engineers are such staff corps. The ordnance, quartermasters', subsistence, medical and pay departments are such staff departments.
>
> 3 The Regimental Staff embraces regimental officers and non commissioned officers charged with functions, within their respective regiments, assimilated to the duties of adjutant-generals, quartermasters and commissaries. Each regiment has a regimental adjutant, and a regimental quartermaster, appointed by the colonel from the officers of the regiment.[16]

As mentioned earlier, upon assumption of command of the army, Rosecrans immediately set to expanding the army staff far beyond the norm. He would add large numbers of staff members that eased his burden as both a department commander and an army commander.

THE CHIEF OF STAFF

The position of Chief of Staff was found in all of the Federal armies. Brigadier General James A. Garfield served as Rosecrans' chief of staff. Garfield was born in Cuyahoga County, Ohio. He graduated from Williams College in 1856. In 1859, he was elected to the Ohio Senate. Commissioned a Lieutenant Colonel in the 42nd Ohio in August, 1861, Garfield commanded a brigade under Don Carlos Buell and was promoted to Brigadier General for his

victory at Big Sandy Valley, Kentucky. He saw action at Shiloh and Corinth.[17] Garfield became Rosecrans' Chief of Staff following the Battle of Stone's River. As a result of his actions at Chickamauga, he was promoted to Major General. Shortly after the Battle of Chickamauga, he left the Army to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives. He was eventually elected as the twentieth President of the United States.

As chief of staff, Garfield functioned as Rosecrans' devil's advocate, often serving as the lone voice against Rosecrans during decision making at the headquarters. Rosecrans did not use his chief of staff in any manner different than most other Civil War commanders. As the senior staff officer at headquarters, Garfield often acted as "second in command," however, he did not function in the traditional role of the modern chief of staff. He was clearly more the "chief clerk" than the Army of the Cumberland staff supervisor.

Although generally loyal to Rosecrans, Garfield made the unforgivable military *faux pas* of voicing his displeasure with his commanding general to his friends in Washington, particularly Secretary of the Treasury Chase.[18] Garfield's criticisms of Rosecrans would ultimately be a contributing factor to Rosecrans relief as army commander.[19]

GENERAL STAFF

Most Civil War armies had a general staff consisting of the household staff of the commanding general. Rosecrans expanded his general staff by adding several essential members we find on staffs today.

AIDES DE CAMP

By regulation, Major Generals were authorized two aides-de-camp (ADC) to assist in military duties in time of war. Their major duties were writing orders, carrying verbal and written orders to subordinate officers, and acting as the commanding general's courier on the field.[20] Rosecrans far exceeded the two ADCs he was authorized by appointing a total of eight. During the Tullahoma and Chattanooga Campaigns Rosecrans senior aide was Major Frank S. Bond. His senior ranking aide was Colonel Joseph C. McKibbin. Rosecrans supplemented his staff with several other aides including: Captain J.P. Drouillard, Captain William Farrar, Captain Robert S. Thoms, Lieutenant William L. Porter, Captain Charles R. Thompson, and Lieutenant James K. Reynolds.[21]

Rosecrans most probably retained this large number of aides for use as special couriers. Since most roads in the Western Theater could not support multi-corps moves, the normal mode of operations was for each corps to move on separate avenues of approach, often

separated by substantial distances. As such, carrying orders to dispersed corps would require a larger contingent of aides.

ASSISTANT ADJUTANT GENERAL

The assistant adjutant general was critical in the management of correspondence and military orders. He published the commanding generals' directives and oversaw distribution of them to the army. Additional responsibilities included maintaining personnel strength reports, unit strength accounting, casualty reporting, assignments, reassignments, promotions, reductions, separations, and leave policies. The Assistant Adjutant General also inspected subordinate unit guards to ensure security and alertness and controlled and processed prisoners and deserters. Major William McMichael was appointed as the department assistant adjutant general while Captain J. Bates Dickson managed the army.[22] Under the normal nineteenth century staff model, the senior aide de camp performed the duties of the assistant adjutant general. Rosecrans opted to expand his staff by creating two separate staff officer positions to fill this role.

ASSISTANT INSPECTOR GENERAL

According to H.L. Scott's Military dictionary, "the assistant adjutants-general are ex-officio assistant inspectors general." Scott continues to comment that the duties of the Inspector General,

> The inspector [General] examines and studies the condition of the corps under arms, as well as off parade; he receives all applications for discharge, and for the retired list. He notes those who merit promotion, rewards, or reprimands. He assembles the council of administration, and verifies their accounts; visits the store houses, quarters, hospitals, prisons; inspects the clothing, arms, etc. and, in fine, scrutinizes every thing which it is desirable should be known. He gives his orders to the regiment for the ensuing year, and makes a detailed report of what he has seen and done.[23]

Once again, this role normally fell under the purview of the senior aide de camp/assistant adjutant general. However, Rosecrans expanded his staff by appointing a separate Inspector General in lieu of adding its' duties to those of the Assistant Adjutant General. He appointed Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Charles Dukat, a pre-war civil engineer and chief surveyor of the Board of Underwriters at Chicago. As mentioned earlier, Dukat, a true son of Erin with a fondness for ladies and drink, was nonetheless a competent Inspector General.

CHAPLAIN

Rosecrans was not authorized a staff chaplain. However, given his deeply religious nature, Rosecrans appointed Reverend Father Trecy and assigned him to his personal staff.

This position was unparalleled in Federal armies. Father Trecy acted as Rosecrans' confessor and expended great effort visiting soldiers in camp, hospital and on the battlefield.[24]

Chaplains were assigned at the regimental level. Figures on the number of assigned chaplains for the army have not been conclusive. A report to the Secretary of War in mid-1863 stated that of six hundred seventy-six regiments on file, only three hundred ninety-five had chaplains assigned.[25] This would indicate a fifty-eight percent fill across Federal forces or in the case of the Army of the Cumberland a shortage of about one hundred chaplains. This shortage was offset by scores of visiting civilian preachers, although they did not provide the moral leadership offered by a permanently assigned member of the command. A devout Roman Catholic, Rosecrans built an environment conducive to moral living. During their encampment at Murfreesboro, elaborate chapels were built for the soldiers to worship in. Once the army departed winter camp, religious ceremonies became a great deal simpler, often held anywhere men could gather. "The leading religious service in camp took place on Sunday afternoon so as not to interfere with morning duties and inspections."[26] The men might then sing one or two hymns, hear a reading from scripture and finally hear the sermon. This sermon was the highlight of the service, after which the soldiers returned to duty. In early July 1863, First Lieutenant Robert Dilworth made note of a sermon "preached by a man from Pennsylvania. A very appropriate sermon . . . After sermon the minister distributed testaments, hymnbooks and religious papers."[27] Letters and journals abound with references to both quality and quantity of the services at headquarters on the Sabbath. There is no doubt that in the days preceding the Tullahoma Campaign through those following the battle of Chickamauga, the Army of the Cumberland was provided as moral a living environment as could be expected.

STAFF DEPARTMENTS

QUARTERMASTER

The quartermaster was the chief logician for the army, responsible for a wide range of support to the combat soldiers. Lieutenant Colonel John W. Taylor served as the army's Chief Quartermaster. One of the principal staff departments, the Army of the Cumberland's Quartermaster Department was organized along standard Civil War staff lines. However, Rosecrans did remove several traditional quartermaster functions from under the chief quartermaster's charge in order to allow him to focus on his materiel supply functions. Scott's Military Dictionary defines the duties of the quartermaster. Note that they are not unlike today's logistical functions.

> This department provides the quarters and transportation of the army, except that, when practicable, wagons and their equipment are provided by the Ordnance Department; storage and transportation for all army supplies; army clothing; camp and garrison equipage; cavalry and artillery horses; fuel; forage; straw and stationery. The incidental expenses of the army (also paid through the quartermaster's department) include per diem to extra duty men: postage on public service; the expenses of courts-martial; of the pursuit and apprehension of deserters; of the burials of officers and soldiers; of hired escorts, of expresses, interpreters, spies, and guides; of veterinary surgeons and medicines for horses; and of supplying posts with water; and, generally, the proper and authorized expenses for the movements and operations of an army not expressly assigned to any other department. [28]

It is important to understand that Lieutenant Colonel Taylor faced formidable challenges in supplying the Army of the Cumberland. His line of communication ran from Louisville, Kentucky along the Louisville and Nashville Railroad to Nashville, Tennessee. From there, it moved on a branch line to Cowen, Tennessee. It then followed a line south through the Cowan Tunnel to Stevenson, Alabama. Finally, it crossed the Tennessee River at Bridgeport, Alabama ending in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Most of this line was single track with few sidings and was frequently cut by Confederate raiders operating with relative impunity in the rear area of the army. Taylor overcame this lack of infrastructure by stockpiling supplies and supplementing movement by wagons.

COMMISSARY OF SUBSISTENCE

Normally a subset of the Chief Quartermaster, Rosecrans created a separate staff Commissary to provide for the feeding of his army. Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Simmons filled this position.

Fitch spoke of the staff department as follows:

> In his new department the duties devolving upon him were peculiarly onerous, owing to the disordered condition in which matters were found. The preceding account of the commissary department will show that its head sustains a responsibility hardly second to any in the army. At all times his services are very important, but in time of battle even more so,—if such a thing be possible. He must always be ready to issue when called upon, whether it be by day or night. He must also exercise a careful foresight with a view to meet contingencies of every kind. In short, it requires a peculiar talent, which every man does not possess, to become a practical, successful commissary. It is no small matter to cater for fifty thousand men and to so arrange that a full supply shall always be on hand. The efficiency and capability of the chief commissary of this army may well be inferred from the length of time he has held the position, and the universal satisfaction given by to which no word of comment need be added.[29]

Little more needs to be added to Fitch's words. However, it is worth noting that Lieutenant Colonel Simmons was part of the Department of the Cumberland staff and remained in Louisville, Kentucky with occasional forays forward to Nashville, Tennessee. He filled the role of a modern contracting officer focusing his efforts on procurement of rations.

MUSTERING AND DISBURSING OFFICER

Rosecrans created a unique position to handle administrative details of the larger Department of the Cumberland. Major W.H. Sidell filled this position as the Department of the Cumberland Mustering and Disbursing officer. He remained in Nashville managing the department's affairs and acting as a rear detachment assistant adjutant general. Fitch stated that,

> As adjutant general at Nashville, his position was one of great trust and responsibility the city being beleaguered and incessantly threatened, and for a long time cut off from all communication. The adjutant of a general commanding is always an important officer, especially when separated from his commander; for then he must himself do for him what ever, under the regulations, he believes the general himself would order done, were he present, in all things not immediately under the control of the commander of the post or garrison. In the discharge of these onerous duties, Major Sidell was discreet and zealous, ready to co-operate with and aid the efforts of others. By the mustering officer all the complicated conditions in regard to the terms on which officers and men are received into the United States service have to be adjudicated. As these terms affect the rank, immunities, and obligations of volunteers in their relations towards each other, as well as towards the Government, the decisions require knowledge of the laws and orders and discretion in applying them. Major Sidell is regarded at Nashville as chief authority in all these matters, and his decisions are rarely reversed in Washington.[30]

This position relieved Rosecrans of much of the administrative responsibilities of the Department, allowing him to concentrate on field operations against the enemy.

ORDNANCE

All Federal armies had an assigned ordnance officer. The Army of the Cumberland's chief ordnance officer was Captain Horace Porter. Porter was a regular Army officer with extensive experience in the ordnance field. He served at Watervliet Arsenal in New York, was present at the expeditions to Fort Royal and Fort Pulaski, and served as chief of ordnance for the Army of the Potomac prior to joining Rosecrans' Department in January, 1863.

Another of the staff principals, the Ordnance Department was responsible for procurement and maintenance of all arms and ammunition. Porter's department oversaw cannons, artillery carriages, small arms, horse accoutrements, horse medicines, and ammunition. His

subordinates inspected the delivery and reported any defects in the quality or condition of ordnance supplies. Additionally, the department was responsible for collecting all arms and accoutrements from deserters and prisoners and returned war munitions left on the battlefield following an action.[31] Porter proved an apt Chief of Ordnance. He was responsible for many innovations in support, most notably his initiative requiring that the contents of ammunition wagons be stenciled on the outside so that supported forces could ascertain the contents quickly.

PROVOST MARSHAL

The staff position of provost marshal was found in all Federal armies. The Provost-Marshal General's Department, headed by Major William M. Wiles, a pre-war pharmacist, dealt with every form of nefarious activity from drunkenness, through the trade of "contraband" by sutlers and the issue of passes to civilians, to the control of camp followers. With Nashville under the umbrella of his department, Wiles was faced with a myriad of challenges not normally encountered by Civil War provost-marshals. Control of Confederate sympathizers, spies and prostitutes also fell upon his department. These increasing demands would ultimately cause Rosecrans to create a separate staff section, the Army Police, to handle such matters.[32] In most cases, criminal infractions were handled by the regimental chain of command. Occasionally, however, even minor criminal activity drew the attention of the headquarters. On September 18, 1863, Rosecrans' Assistant Adjutant General fired off the following order: "The Commanding General directs you take charge of the discipline of the Headquarters Camp, to see that everything is kept in proper order and that the guards are efficient. There has been complaint recently that many articles are stolen from the wagons. The General desires you to devise some means to prevent this and punish the offenders."[33]

Rosecrans' staff may have succeeded in controlling theft, but according to William R. Stookly, 42nd Indiana Infantry Regiment, the provost marshal was less successful controlling the camp followers. In an unusually frank letter to his wife Stookly wrote, "As to getting home for twenty to thirty dollars just to sleep with a woman . . . I can get to sleep with them without going two miles from camp and with less than half the money and I never miss an opportunity."[34] Amusing as his statement seems, the large amount of camp following caused the army constant problems ranging from petty theft to more violent crime.

Most infractions usually drew time in the guard house. However, the department dealt harshly with violent crime which often carried the death penalty. Alonzo Merrill Keeler, 22nd Michigan Regiment, wrote, "Hiram Reynolds, 82nd Illinois, hung at 12 M [midnight] at the

penitentiary Nashville for shooting a fellow soldier--Plead intoxication & was swung off while praying--seemed much agitated."[35] Although executions were rare, they gave soldiers a memorable example of the reality of military discipline. At least two cases of rape were reported during the Tullahoma Campaign. The first case occurred at the mid-point of the campaign near McMinnville, Tennessee. Saddler Jacob Leonhart, 26th Pennsylvania Battery, entered the home of Mrs. Jane Young and, "did then and there, feloniously and against her will, [did] attempt to commit rape upon the person of "Sally," a Negro woman in her employ." Leonhart was caught and promptly sentenced to the penitentiary for the remainder of the war.[36] The second case involved one of the officers of the Army of the Cumberland. Lieutenant Harvey John, 49th Ohio Regiment, encountered Mrs. Catherine Farmer on a road near Tullahoma. John assaulted her and did "forcibly and unlawfully ravish and carnally know Mrs. Farmer against [her] will." The lieutenant would spend two years in the penitentiary for his crime.[37]

Violent crimes, however, were the exception. Most indiscipline revolved around drinking and foraging. Soldiers of all ranks were quick to enjoy the outlet afforded to them by alcohol. First Lieutenant Robert Dilworth, 21st Ohio Regiment, noted on August 3, 1863, "the sutlers brought on a large lot of sutlers goods, beer, ale, etc. About half the regiment became pretty merry over it and some so that they had to be taken into custody. Every thing went pretty quietly considering the amount of beer which had been drank."[38] Soldiers were not the only ones who enjoyed their spirits. John Beatty tells us that after a party at General Rosecrans' headquarters, Generals McCook, Crittenden and Rousseau were so intoxicated that the three left the party, arm in arm, singing *Mary Had A Little Lamb.*[39] With the exception of large amounts of occasionally intemperate soldiers and the frequent foraging that occurred during the Tullahoma Campaign, disciplinary infractions seemed minimal. In fact, the level of discipline of the soldiers of the Army of the Cumberland seemed to be equal or better to that of their eastern comrades.

CHIEF PAYMASTER

The chief paymaster was another addition to the staff. Major Smith filled this position. His duties are well described by Scott.

> It is the duty of paymasters to pay all the regular and other troops in the service of the United States; and, to insure punctuality and responsibility, correct reports shall be made to the paymaster-general once in two months, showing the disposition of the funds previously transmitted, with accurate estimates for the next payment of such regiment, garrison, or department, as may be assigned to each; and when ever any paymaster shall fail to transmit such estimate, or neglect to render his vouchers to the paymaster-general for settlement of his

accounts, more than six months after receiving funds, he shall be recalled and another appointed in his place.[40]

Major Smith did not accompany the army on campaign, but remained with the detached elements in Nashville.

JUDGE ADVOCATE

The Judge Advocate of the Army of the Cumberland was Captain Hunter Brooke, an Ohio attorney. John Fitch, whose work on the Army of the Cumberland is today so heavily drawn upon, preceded Brooke in as judge advocate. The position is quite similar to today's judge advocate and Brooke principally advised Rosecrans' on legal matters in relation to the Articles of War and procedures for convening courts martial. [41]

MEDICAL DIRECTOR

The Medical Director of the army was Surgeon Glover Perin, a regular Army doctor from Ohio.[42] Perin's duties included care of patients, organization and sanitation of hospitals, placing ambulance trains, providing medical stores and supplies and training of subordinate medical officers. Additionally, he served as an interface between the Sanitary Commission and the army elements in theater. Major General Rosecrans insured that the soldiers of the Army of the Cumberland were well cared for. Prior to opening the Tullahoma Campaign, Rosecrans had continually goaded the War Department to upgrade his department in both logistical and cavalry capability.[43] Although he was not completely successful, the result of his efforts left the army generally well equipped, well feed, and healthy. In fact, Colonel John P. Sanderson, a member of Rosecrans' staff, noted that, "The army is in prime condition, full of confidence. I was told yesterday by one of our medical staff that we have no sick, and that the aggregate number of patients within the last two weeks does not exceed one hundred. This is wonderful."[44] General Rosecrans and his staff placed great emphasis on keeping encampments clean and healthy. He enforced this standard through a system of frequent inspections of his soldiers' living areas. Captain John D. Inskeep, 17th Ohio Regiment , noted in his journal, "Inspections have been more frequent and minute than usual - blank inspection forms have been furnished us lately and the rules there laid down are very stringent."[45] This program of inspections coupled with inspector general involvement[46] to implement fixes to problems discovered by the staff facilitated the best possible living conditions for the soldiers of the Army of the Cumberland.

SPECIAL STAFF

CHIEF OF ARTILLERY

Colonel James Barnett, a pre-war New York merchant, who previously led the 1st Ohio Battery, served as Rosecrans Chief of Artillery. This staff position was a new one created in both the Army of the Cumberland and the Army of the Potomac. Although artillery was normally controlled at the division level and usually apportioned to each brigade, Barnett acted in the role of an artillery advisor to Rosecrans. His major duties were to inform Rosecrans on the condition of his artillery units and cannon, file monthly returns to Washington and assist subordinate units in the employment of artillery on the battlefield.[47]

CHIEF OF ENGINEERS

One of the most unique staff organizations in the Army of the Cumberland was that of the Engineer Department. Perhaps because of his background as an engineer, Rosecrans developed an unparalleled organization to care for the diverse engineering needs of the army as it traversed substantial areas with little existing infrastructure.

Rosecrans created two distinct engineering staff departments, that of the Chief Engineer, under Brigadier General James St. Clair Morton, and the more traditional Topographical Engineering department under Captain W. E. Merrill. Congressional legislation merged these departments in March of 1863, and for a time, Merrill reported directly to Morton; but Rosecrans' continuing displeasure with Morton eventually caused him to divide the two organizations into two separate staff agencies.[48]

There were two other unique features of the Engineer Department: the organization of a Pioneer Brigade and the existence of the 1st Michigan Engineers and Mechanics. The Pioneer Brigade was led by Brigadier General Morton. The brigade was created by drawing soldiers who had previous occupations or talents as carpenters, shipwrights, masons, or the associated construction fields from each subordinate unit of the Army of the Cumberland. General Order Number 3 stated that, "There will be detailed immediately, from each company of every regiment of infantry in this army, two men, who shall be organized as a pioneer or engineer corps....The twenty men will be selected with great care, half laborers and half mechanics."[49] The Pioneer Brigade's mission was to move in advance of the army and clear obstacles which might be encountered.

Maintenance of the lines of communication fell to the other unique engineering organization, the 1st Michigan Engineers and Mechanics. Under the charge of Colonel William P. Innes, a professional railroad engineer before the war, the regiment had a detachment of

men skilled in railroad, bridge and tunnel construction. Using this detachment as a core, and supplementing it with officers and men skilled in civil engineering, Innes put the regiment to work repairing rail lines and bridging. Fitch states that, "Since the regiment has been in service, they have laid over ten thousand lineal feet of railroad, built a number of highway bridges, erected store-houses, and made over twelve miles of corduroy road at Shiloh, Mill Spring, and elsewhere."[50] Rosecrans' Engineer Department was truly without parallel in the American Civil War. His highly organized department efficiently managed the traditional engineering roles and missions familiar to us today. These hard working engineers kept Rosecrans' vital rail link open despite frequent attack by Confederate cavalry raids. Later, the bridges they built would sustain the "Hard Cracker Line" used by both Grant and Sherman during their campaigns.

CHIEF TOPOGRAPHICAL ENGINEER

As Rosecrans' was an engineer officer, it is not surprising that one of the more developed departments of his army was the Topographical Department. Captain Merrill's department was responsible for surveying defenses and fortifications, reconnoitering terrain and compiling military maps.[51] Captain William C. Margedant, an officer assigned to the Topographical Department, recounted the accomplishments of the department in a postwar letter to General Rosecrans:

> The Topographical Department of the Army of the Cumberland was the best organized and best equipped and most effective Topographical Department in the field. Considering the circumstances, time and urgent want of such a department, it may be safely said that it was a perfect one. We had representative engineer and surveyors with brigades, divisions and army corps and even with regiments and outposts. No scouting or reconnoitering party went out without its engineer; additions and corrections to our information maps had to be sent daily to our office at headquarters; We corrected, enlarged and combined our maps in accordance with such reports, and such information as we procured ourselves at the headquarters, through information of prisoners, scouts and our own personal reconnoitering. The revised information maps were then printed at night or in a special printing wagon, in the time of the march, and distributed by special messengers or through the usual channels of the army. Engineers and commanders of troops were thus constantly kept advised and ordered to make additions or corrections at once and report the same to headquarters. We often employed as high as thirty draftsmen; we had a large and full equipment of photographic aperatuses (sic), among them solar cameras to enlarge views of rebel fortifications. We had two lithographic presses, and no doubt, you remember well our black field maps, printing and multiplying quickly the maps on the wagon in time of the march. We furnished every commander with the black maps and a bottle of potassium, which should be used same as ink, producing white lines. (You remember General, that this process was an invention of my own and that the so called "blueprint' of drawings and maps now so largely used, has sprung from them.)

> You well remember the maps which we printed on the reversed side of neckties and handkerchiefs, yes, even on the reversed side of shirt-bossoms (sic) and sleeves, for the use of scouts and spies.
>
> Most certainly, there was no department more serviscible (sic) and which had done more service, than the Topographical Engineer Department of the Army of the Cumberland. The organization of a Topographical Dept. was not specified in the Army regulations. It was a creation of our own, brought to life by your orders and directions, and inspired by your personal influence. I said above, that there was no material change in the department when you left; we kept onward following the spirit of the founder.[52]

Margedant's words need little comment. Clearly, the Army of the Cumberland had a highly evolved Topographical Department by any period standard. This would be especially critical during both the Tullahoma and Chattanooga Campaign where accurate regional maps were almost non-existent.

CHIEF OF SIGNAL

Realizing the importance of communications in his geographically large theater, Rosecrans created several unique staff positions to manage communications. Captain Jesse Merrill, a pre-war attorney, was appointed as chief Signal Officer with "the object of the organization... to keep up constant communication between the different parts of the army and the different commanding generals, to closely scan and discover the movements of the enemy."[53] Merrill accomplished his mission through the establishment of signal flag stations located on mountain tops and high elevations. He used these in concert with, "powerful telescopes and marine glasses"[54] to observe and report enemy movements to the general.

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE TELEGRAPH

Rosecrans' created a separate staff department for the management of telegraph operations, a relatively new technology, in his army. Under first Major Albert J. Meyer, and later Captain John C. Van Duzer, a civilian telegraph supervisor, the section performed excellent work.[55] As a result of the efficiency of this section, Rosecrans became highly dependant on the telegraph. Normally, each of the corps headquarters were linked to the army headquarters by telegraph allowing Rosecrans to quickly relay orders to them. During the battle of Chickamauga, Rosecrans headquarters was linked to his Reserve Corps by wire and directly to the War Department in Washington, D.C.

CHIEF OF ARMY POLICE AND MAIL DIRECTORY

As mentioned, Rosecrans created a staff section to handle civilian criminal matters which included spying and control and licensing of prostitutes. These duties fell to the Chief of Army Police, "Colonel" William Truesdale.[56] Truesdale proved to be Rosecrans' most unusual staff officer. His exploits included rounding up and arresting spies in the dark of night, playing spymaster/lover/dupe to Pauline Cushman, intercepting and reading Mattie Ready's love letters to her husband John Morgan and running a nineteenth century prostitution ring. All of this became the stuff of legend and fed army rumors until his removal and disappearance after Rosecrans' relief as army commander.

When General Rosecrans assumed control of the department, there was virtually no means of directing the mail. The amount of outgoing and incoming mail was voluminous: the soldiers of the Army of the Cumberland sent twenty two thousand letters per day and in return the department received about an equal amount.[57] Rosecrans tasked his chief of Secret Police, to correct this problem through the establishment of a locator service. Truesdale performed this duty efficiently and within weeks the system was operating beyond expectation.

Since mail was the only means of communication with the home front, it had a pivotal effect on the soldiers' morale. Almost every soldier mentioned his desire for more frequent letters from home. Colonel John G. Parkhurst, 9th Michigan Regiment, is typical of all soldiers when he implored, "Write me as often as you can," or later "Helen you must write me," or still later "Am I not going to hear from you?"[58] Thomas Jefferson Conely spoke from the ranks of the same regiment when he wrote, "I have not heard from you since we have been on the march. Have been very anxious to hear from you."[59] From the private to the general, mail was a critical part of the morale equation.

Rosecrans' department managed to handle mail seriously and efficiently. It is interesting to note that soldiers in the army even received mail following action on the first day of the battle of Chickamauga. John Fitch summed up the impact of mail as follows: "Its influence on the soldier can hardly be overstated. It is a messenger of love and hope, bringing words of comfort and cheer in those dark and trying hours."[60] The leaders of the Army of the Cumberland would go to great lengths to insure that this important messenger got though.

SUPERINTENDENT OF RAILROAD

According to Army regulation, rail transportation was the responsibility of the Chief Quartermaster. As with many of his other staff specialists, Rosecrans created a special staff section to manage the army's rail operations. Given his dependence on the railroad line

between Louisville and Nashville and the importance of the rail system to his operations, Rosecrans felt that a dedicated staff officer was necessary to efficiently operate the railroad. Colonel John B. Anderson was appointed as the superintendent of the railroad and was charged with overall operation of the railroad. Anderson managed a wide range of railroad engines, passenger cars, freight cars, construction trains and self propelled cars with heated cabins called dummy cars. Rosecrans often used these dummy cars as a command and inspection vehicle. Dummy cars also served to move members of the staff between depots and sub-headquarters locations.

Fitch spoke of the importance of the railroad before the commencement of the Tullahoma Campaign,

> The railroad from Murfreesborough (sic) to Nashville is a military road, and is operated entirely by the Government superintendent and the quartermaster. All the freight for the army has been transported over it, and it has more than paid its way. Fifty car-loads—or three hundred tons—are daily brought to Murfreesborough (sic) from Nashville. Over the Louisville & Nashville road, which is taxed to its utmost capacity in transporting Government freight, the regular rates are paid. The road from Murfreesborough (sic) to Nashville has been in constant operation since the 1st of March; has been interrupted only once, when a train was captured and burned by the rebels. For passage and freight private persons pay regular rates.[61]

The importance of the railroad would grow immensely following the battle of Stone's River. Rosecrans would use the railroad as his principle means of building up the forward supply depots at Cowen and Bridgeport/Stevenson. These depots would later sustain Rosecrans' Army of the Cumberland during the Chattanooga Campaign and form the nucleus of the "Cracker Line" following the Battle of Chattanooga in December, 1863.

CONCLUSION

Modern military officers can learn much from the study of Rosecrans' organization. Major General William S. Rosecrans had taken a lackluster staff and transformed it through his own design into one of the most efficient staff structures of the war. In late 1863, when Ulysses Grant was given command of all of the Western armies, he soon came to realize that the Army of the Cumberland had developed a unique approach to staff design. When Grant departed for the east, Major General William T. Sherman was placed in command of the three western armies: The Army of the Cumberland, The Army of the Ohio, and The Army of the Tennessee. He would reorganize these armies, essentially reducing them to large corps. However, Sherman retained large portions of the Army of the Cumberland staff structure and assigned them as members of his staff. Sherman noted in his memoirs, "General Thomas's army [the

Army of the Cumberland] was much the largest of the three [armies], was best provided, and contained the best corps of engineers, railroad managers, and repair parties, as well as the best body of spies and provost marshals. On him we were therefore compelled in a great measure to rely for these most useful branches of service."[62] It was this structure that he depended upon to conduct his 1864 Atlanta Campaign and the subsequent March to the Sea. Without these staff members, his critical mission may well have ended in failure.

Rosecrans' staff was uniquely designed to cope with the problems associated with an austere theater of operations. He organized his staff in functional areas of concentration which facilitated the flow of supplies and services through the largely undeveloped expanses of the Western Theater. During Sherman's campaign through Georgia, these staff sections, built originally for use during the Middle Tennessee Campaign, would provide critical staff services to Sherman's army. Without them, Sherman and his army would have been severely constrained by both fixed rail lines and conventional operational procedures. The unique staff, envisioned and created by Rosecrans, truly allowed Sherman to break from the doctrinal norms of the period. This staff gave Sherman the opportunity to conduct a brilliant campaign of maneuver unmatched in our military history.

This case study illustrates the impact that a leader's understanding of his environment can have on the efficiency of the organization when the specific challenges of the theater of operations are addressed. Major General William S. Rosecrans came to a largely dysfunctional army which was required to operate in a vast geographic theater with little infrastructure. His innovative vision allowed him to expand his staff, freeing him of administrative details and enabling his staff members to overcome the immense obstacles presented to them in the Western Theater. His unprecedented organizational design was a legacy to his tenure as a commander and served as a harbinger for future staff innovation.

Word Count = 8,142

ENDNOTES

[1]Robert D. Richardson "Rosecrans' Staff at Chickamauga: The Significance of Major General William S. Rosecrans' Staff on the Outcome of the Chickamauga Campaign." (Master of Military Art and Science. Thesis US Army Command and General Staff College, 1989), 194-196. [Richardson's study is the best work available on Rosecrans' staff. Richardson details each of the staff positions and describes the function of each staff member in administering to the army].

[2]Frederick H. Dyer, A Compendium of the War of Rebellion (Dayton: Morningside Bookshop, 1978), 425.

[3]E.B. Long and Barbara Long, The Civil War Day by Day (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 310.

[4]Thomas B. Van Horne, History of the Army of the Cumberland (Wilmington: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1988), 287.

[5]Francis A. Lord, They Fought for the Union (New York: Bonanza Books, 1960), 15.

[6]James I. Robertson Jr., Tenting Tonight (Alexandria:Time-Life Books, 1984), 29.

[7]Ella Lonn, Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy (New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1969), 102-103.

[8]John Beatty, The Citizen-Soldier; or Memories of a Volunteer (Cincinnati: Wilstach, Baldwin & CO, 1870), 27. Charles O'Malley was a fictional character in a novel written by the famous Irish writer Charles Lever. The O'Malley character was the personification of youthful impudence.

[9] Lonn, 125.

[10] Lord, 227.

[11]Major Alonzo Keeler, 22nd Michigan Infantry Regiment, to Wife, July 15, 1863, Alonzo Keeler Papers, Michigan Historical Collection, Bently Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

[12]William M. Lamers, The Edge of Glory (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, INC., 1961), 15. [Although naturally very biased in favor of anything "Rosecrans", William Lamers' tribute to Rosecrans is required reading for the serious student of the Army of the Cumberland. His research has shed light on the day to day workings of the army staff during the Tullahoma/Chickamauga Campaigns].

[13]Ezra J. Warner, Generals in Blue (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 410.

[14]John G. Waugh, The Class of 1846 (New York: Time Warner Books, 1994) , 258.

[15] Warner, 411.

[16] Henry L. Scott, Military Dictionary (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1864), 570-571.

[17] Warner, 166.

[18]Salmon Portland Chase was the Secretary of the Treasury. He was a very influential anti-slavery politician, well connected in Washington political circles. He sustained his political influence through his daughter Kate's famous parties. The guest list for these events was a "who's who" of important Washington politicians. Through these parties, Chase often lobbied for his current cause at hand. Chase saw himself as Garfield's political mentor.

[19]Although the background and intrigue surrounding the relief of Rosecrans could fill a volume in itself, no such volume exists. For a concise, but slightly pro-Rosecrans, discussion see: The Society of the Army of the Cumberland, The Burial of General Rosecrans at Arlington National Cemetery, (Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company, 1903), 84-102.

[20] Scott, 21.

[21] Richardson, 29.

[22] Richardson, 30.

[23] Scott, 369-370.

[24] John Fitch, Annals of the Army of the Cumberland, (Philadelphia: Lillincott, 1863), 327-329.

[25] Lord, 254.

[26]James I. Robertson, Jr., Soldiers Blue and Gray, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 183.

[27]Robert Sample Dilworth Journal, entry for July 2, 1863, Robert Sample Dilworth Journal, Confederate Research Center, Hill College, Hillsboro, Texas.

[28] Scott, 477

[29] Fitch, 280-281.

[30] Fitch, 51.

[31] Richardson, 34.

[32] Ibid., 37.

[33]Letters Received, Headquarters, Department of the Cumberland, signed C. Goddard, Assistant Adjutant General, September 18, 1863, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[34]William R. Stookly to Loving Wife, August 20, 1863, William R. Stookly Letters, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, IN.

[35]Alonzo Merrill Keeler Journal, Alonzo Merrill Keeler Papers, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[36]Thomas P. Lowry, M.D., The Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell: Sex in the Civil War (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 1994), 126-127.

[37]Ibid., 136.

[38]Dilworth Journal, August 3, 1863. Lieutenant Dilworth was killed in action on June 27, 1864.

[39]Beatty, 307.

[40] Scott, 457.

[41] Fitch, 52-53.

[42] Ibid, 289-292.

[43]Report of the Joint Committee on The Conduct of War of the Second Session, Thirty-Eighth Congress. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), 27-29.

[44].John P. Sanderson letter dated September 17, 1863, John P. Sanderson Papers, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.

[45]Captain John D. Inskeep journal entries from July 20 to August 4, 1863, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.

[46] Richardson, 34-35. The function of the Inspector General was to report the status of areas of troop morale, camp facilities, unit administration and officer leadership. Inspector General officers also made recommendations to correct deficiencies discovered and monitored compliance to orders from the commander.

[47] Ibid., 39.

[48] Ibid., 38.

[49] Fitch, 186-188.

[50] Ibid., 196.

[51] William P. Craighill, Army Officer's Pocket Companion: Principally Designed for Staff Officers in the Field, (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1863), 64.

[52] Letter from William C. Margedant to William S. Rosecrans, September 21, 1887, William S. Rosecrans Papers, Box 43, Folder 76, UCLA, Los Angles, CA

[53] Fitch, 303.

[54] Ibid., 303.

[55] Ibid., 304-305.

[56] Truesdale was not a commissioned officer. He assumed the title of "Colonel" without an official appointment.

[57]Fitch, 314.

[58]Letters dated June 28, 1863, July 3, 1863 , and September 9, 1863 to Dear Sisters, John G. Parkhurst Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bently Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[59]Thomas Jefferson Conely letter dated July 3, 1863 to Dear Lottie, Thomas Jefferson Conely Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bently Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[60]Fitch, 311.

[61] Ibid., 268.

[62] Sherman, William T. Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman, (New York: The Library of America), 466.

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